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WICKER, LESLIE CLEVELAND
RACIAL AWARENESS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION
AMONG AMERICAN INDIAN CHILDREN AS INFLUENCED
BY NATIVE-AMERICAN POWER IDEOLOGY AND
SELF-CONCEPT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT
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RACIAL AWARENESS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION
AMONG AMERICAN INDIAN CHILDREN AS INFLUENCED
BY NATIVE-AMERICAN POWER IDEOLOGY AND SELF-CONCEPT

by

Leslie Cleveland Wicker

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the Faculty of the Graduate School
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Approved by


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APPROVAL PAGE

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The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between racial awareness and racial identification of American Indian children with exposure to the American Indian movement and self-concept. The sample for the study consisted of 45 American Indian children randomly selected from the Pembroke Elementary School in Pembroke, North Carolina, who represented Indian children exposed to a strong native-American movement, and 45 American Indian children randomly selected from the North Carolina counties of Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond, who represented children not exposed to a strong native-American movement. The grade levels of the subjects were kindergarten, second, and fourth grade.

The first hypothesis stated that there is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness. This hypothesis was not supported. It was found that 91 percent of the subjects were racially aware of differences between Indians and Caucasians. Hypothesis two stated that there is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children identify with their own race. The data did not support this expectation since a majority (55%) from each group

preferred Indian to Caucasian. The third hypothesis stated that there is no difference between grade levels of Indian children and the frequency with which they identify with their own race. The data indicated significant differences between grade level and racial identification. The fourth hypothesis stated that Indian children who identify with their own race would have higher self-concepts than those who identify with Caucasians. This hypothesis was not upheld by the investigation. There was no significant difference in self-concept scores of Indian children who identified with Indians and those who identified with Caucasians.

Four major conclusions were drawn from the analysis of the data: (1) Indian children, as other minority children, become aware of race at an early age regardless of their exposure to a strong native-American movement. (2) Indian children from areas in which there is a strong native-American movement show no greater racial identification with Indians than Indian children not exposed to such a movement. However, the majority of Indian children show racial preference for their own race. (3) As age or grade level of Indian children is raised, identification with or preference for the Indian race increases. This is supportive of the literature of racial preference for other minority groups. (4) There is no relationship between racial identification and self-concept among Indian children. Those who identify

with the Indian race have no higher self-concepts than those who identify with the Caucasian.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have reported that minority and majority children become aware of race between the ages of three and six (Allport, 1954; Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1963), and that minority children become aware of racial and ethnic differences earlier than majority children (Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Proshansky, 1966; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Harding et al (1969) have theorized three overlapping stages in the development of racial and ethnic attitudes of both minority and majority children by first becoming aware of their own racial identity around age three, learning the concepts used to describe members of their own racial group between the ages of four and eight, and developing "adult" attitudes towards their own and other racial groups around age eight.

Studies of racial identification and awareness have mostly focused on black and white children with emphasis on the minority group. Baldwin (1962) asserts that "Negroes in this country. . .are taught to despise themselves from the moment their eyes are opened to the world" (p. 65). No matter how much effort a black person may exert to conform to the dominant culture, the color of his skin prevents him from being fully acceptable to large segments of the white

population and often to himself (Goldschmid, 1970). Dreger and Miller (1960) point out that while the white person's skin color has relatively little effect on his self-concept, black skin in a white society is a factor in identity development.

Research has not focused on the problem of racial identification and awareness among Indian children in America. The problem of racial identification and racial awareness for Indian children may be complicated by the fact that Indian children are neither black nor white, yet of an ethnic strain of slight color which could be a source of frustration for the Indian child (Berry, 1963). The importance of racial awareness and appropriate racial identification or preference as influenced by age, Indian power movements, and self-concept suggest the need for research examining these variables among Indian children.

Conceptual Framework

Symbolic interactionism is a term which has come into use as a label for an area of study of human group life and human conduct (Blumer, 1969). Stryker (1964) believes that it is important to make the distinction between symbolic interactionism as a theory and as a conceptual framework because as a theory it presents a set of propositions seeking to explain the processes of socialization and psychological development and as a conceptual framework it presents a set

of concepts in which important pertinent variables may be found. Although symbolic interactionism has been interpreted in varying ways, most of those identifying with the perspective trace its principle origin to the works of George Herbert Mead (Meltzer et al, 1975). The ideas of Mead have been set forth by various sociologists, but acquaintance with his works has to a large measure come through his student, Herbert Blumer (Meltzer et al, 1975) who was the first to use the term symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1937). Blumer (1969) interprets symbolic interactionism to rest upon three premises. First, human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings which the things have for them. These things include everything which the human may note in his world--physical objects, other human beings, categories of human beings, institutions, guiding ideals, activities of others, and such situations as a person encounters in daily life. In the case of the present study, Indian children act towards themselves, their parents, and their own and other ethnic groups on the basis of the meaning which all of these individuals and groups have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is a product of social interaction. The meaning of a thing, whether a self, another, or an object, grows out of the ways in which other persons act toward the person regarding the thing. Interaction operates to define the

thing for the individual so that meanings are social products. The meaning of being an Indian in a predominantly white culture grows out of the ways in which persons act towards Indians, and as related particularly to Indian children, the ways in which Indians act towards themselves.

The third premise Blumer (1969) proposes is that these meanings are modified and handled through an interpretive process which is used by each individual in dealing with the signs he encounters. This third process has two distinct steps. The actor is first indicating to himself the things towards which he is acting and in so doing he is pointing out those things which have meaning. These indications are the result of internalized social process in that the actor is acting with himself. This is a case of a person engaging in a process of communication with himself. Secondly, as a result of communication with himself, interpretation becomes a matter of handling meanings.

The underpinnings for these three premises are not only found in the works of Mead (1934), but also in Cooley's theory of society (1902), Dewey's formulation of the concept of habit (1922), W. I. Thomas' notion of the definition of the situation (1923), and others (Baldwin, 1906; James, 1892). Schvaneveldt (1966) and Stryker (1959) have listed most of the concepts of the symbolic interaction framework. Since the concepts of this framework are numerous, attention is given to those most pertinent to the present research.

One distinguishing feature of Mead's (1934) conception of the human being is that the human being is an organism which has a self. In asserting that the human being has a self, Mead is saying that the human being is an object to himself. A person may perceive himself, have conceptions of himself, communicate with himself, and act towards himself (Blumer, 1969). As these thoughts imply, a person may be the object of his own action. The possession of a self provides the person with a mechanism of self interaction with which to meet the world. This mechanism is used in forming his attitude and guiding his conduct (Blumer, 1969). The premise of the present research is that children are able to take themselves as objects, form conceptions of themselves, act towards themselves, and consequently are able to form attitudes about themselves.

The self in Mead's concept is comprised of two component processes, the "I" and the "me." The "me" is the equivalent of social roles which are organized attitudes of others which the person has incorporated into his self. The "I" is the individual's response to these organized attitudes of others and accounts for spontaneity, creativity, and change in behavior (Mead, 1912; Stryker, 1964).

A third concept offered by Mead and related to his concept of the self is that of roles. As being a self involves the ability to take the self as an object, the self

is defined in terms of socially recognized categories and their corresponding roles. As these roles necessarily suggest relationships to others, the self necessarily implies such relations. Thus, a person's self is the way he describes to himself his roles to others in a social process (Stryker, 1959). Turner (1962) defines a role as a pattern of consistent behavior of a single actor. This consistent behavior pattern involves the clusters of values and interpretations which direct a person's behavior in a given social situation. Schvaneveldt (1966) has noted that this process involves selective perception of the actions of others and imagining how one looks from another person's standpoint. Berger and Luchmann (1967) believe that role taking is an intersubjective phenomenon in the sense that a person assumes the role of the other in an attempt to anticipate his actions and to evaluate how he perceives the other will respond to him. Symbolic cues in the forms of facial expressions, intonations of speech, posture, and gestures are supplied and interpreted allowing role taking behavior to emerge (Stone, 1962). This concept is in keeping with the present research as native American children necessarily have to assume the role of the other, whoever the other may be, in order to evaluate how he, the child, perceives the other will react to him.

The other according to Mead (1934) may be a significant other or a generalized other. Significant other means the

specification of particular persons in the process of interaction to a certain rank on a "significance" continuum. Individuals given high status on the continuum are more influential to the person in the process of role taking (Stryker, 1959). While role taking may involve the anticipation of responses of some particular other, more frequently it involves the anticipation of what Mead (1934) called the "generalized other." Mead (1934) holds that the personality develops in two stages, the first being play and the second being "the game." In the play stage the child often plays being someone else and since he has a certain other in his role-play, the play involves taking the role of discrete particular others. Social life is more complex and Mead therefore suggests the counterpart of the game. A player in a game must respond to an intricately related pattern of others and if he is to play his role, he must incorporate the roles of the other participants. Incorporating all these roles is what Mead means when a person takes the role of the generalized other (Stryker, 1964). The message coming from the generalized other to minority children in particular may be quite different from the message given to majority children. Taking the role of the generalized other is to become part of the game. While becoming part of the game enables an individual to play his own role in the ongoing social process, taking an ascribed negative role

because of ethnic or racial bias is damaging to the self-concept of the individual.

The concepts of "primary group," "human nature," and "the looking-glass self" form a triadic relationship which underlies Cooley's work on the nature of the relationship between the individual and society (Meltzer et al, 1975). By primary groups Cooley means those ". . .characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature of the ideals of individuals" (Cooley, 1909, p. 23). These intimate face-to-face interactions develop a feeling which Cooley describes as "we." Through emotional and bodily feelings the individual comes to identify himself as part of the larger unit. The primary group represents a microcosm of the larger society with the essential component that of sharing expectations (Meltzer et al, 1975). Cooley believes that primary groups are important because it is through these groups that the individual develops his first contact with the larger society. The primary group therefore maintains a large amount of control upon the individual because of emotional attachments and sentiments. Cooley notes that a person's sense of worth and feelings about himself come directly from his or her primary group (Cooley, 1909). He believes that human nature develops in primary groups and the development

of a sense of self reflects the definitions of the society as interpreted by the primary group (Meltzer et al., 1975). Human nature cannot be developed in isolation and is not present at birth. In describing human nature Cooley says:

It is the nature which is developed and expressed in those simple, face-to-face groups that are somewhat alike in all societies; groups of the family, the playground, and the neighborhood. In the essential similarity of these is to be found the basis, in experience, for similar ideas and sentiments in the human mind. In these everywhere, human nature comes into existence (Cooley, 1909, p. 29).

The summing up of the relationship between human nature and the primary group is given in Cooley's third part of the triad, the "looking-glass self." Cooley (1902) holds that the attitudes of other persons towards an individual are reflected as though the person were looking into a mirror and evaluating himself on the basis of what is observed. The idea of the "looking-glass self" embodies three principle elements: "the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of the appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification" (Cooley, 1902, p. 184). As Cooley asserts, the idea of the looking-glass self does not, in and of itself, suggest the second element, although it is important in terms of the concept. In discussing the second element Cooley says:

The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind (Cooley, 1902, p. 184).

Some sort of feeling such as pride or mortification clearly involves evaluation of the responses of others. It would appear that continuous negative or positive evaluation may result in some form of the individual's conception of himself. Cooley's triadic relationship of primary group, human nature, and looking-glass self forms a basis for understanding how Indian children evaluate themselves and how there may be differential evaluations even between children of different Indian groups.

Another important concept of symbolic interactionism which provides a structure for the present research is that of W. I. Thomas' (1923) "definition of the situation." Thomas believes that the child is born into a group of people among whom the general types of situations which may arise have already been defined and the corresponding rules of conduct developed. Both the family and the community act as defining agents for the child. Not only are concrete acts dependent on the definition of the situation, but gradually a whole-life policy and the personality of the individual follows from a series of such definitions. Thomas' concept of the definition of the situation provides a means of raising research questions pertaining to the ways in which the situation has been defined for minority children.

Kinch (1963), basing his thought upon Mead, Cooley, and other interactionists, has defined the notion of self-concept by asserting "The self-concept is that organization of

qualities that the individual attributes to himself" (Kinch, 1963, p. 481). The word "qualities" is used to mean both the attributes and the roles in which the person sees himself. Kinch (1963) believes the basic notions of self-concept are that the individual's conception of himself emerges from social interaction and, in turn, guides or influences the behavior of the individual. He delineates three statements implicitly in the concept: (1) The individual's self-concept is based on his perception of the ways others are responding to him; (2) The individual's self-concept functions to direct his behavior; and (3) The individual's perception of the responses of others toward him reflects the actual responses of others towards him (Kinch, 1963, p. 482).

Shibutani (1967) has found three common usages of the concept of reference group. One is in the designation of that group which serves as a point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in forming judgments about one's self. A second referent of the concept is that group in which the actor aspires to gain and maintain acceptance. A third way in which the concept has been used indicates that group whose perspective constitutes a frame of reference for the actor. In a similar way, Sherif (1953) has spoken of reference groups as groups whose norms are used as anchoring points in structuring the perceptual field.

An individual comes to perceive the world from the standpoint of the reference group either through direct or vicarious participation. Shibutani (1967) believes that thinking of the reference group as that group whose outlook is used by the actor as a frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field is the most beneficial for research. Here all kinds of groupings of various size, compositions, and structures may be reference groups. Reference groups may be those groups in which persons stand in primary relationships or they may be those in which transactions may assume the perspective attributed to some social category such as social class or ethnic group (Shibutani, 1967). Reference groups arise through the internalization of norms and constitute the structure of expectations given to some audience for whom a person organizes his conduct (Shibutani, 1967). The concept of reference group is an important concept for research which examines racial identification. It is especially crucial for minority children as they are organizing their perceptual field and their self-concept through perceiving themselves as belonging to a particular reference group.

The Problem

The Clark and Clark (1947) research focused attention on the problem of racial identification and preference among black children in that black children did not identify with their own race but the race of the white majority.

Replications of the Clark and Clark study have noted the relative influence of black efforts to instill feelings of pride in being black in black children (Bunton & Weissback, 1971; Hraba & Grant, 1970). Studies have not dealt with the question of racial identification and preference among Indian children in America. The problem of racial identification among Indian children is complicated by the fact there is no general definition of "an Indian" which can be used to identify a person as Indian (Information About Indians, no date given). Because the Indian child is neither black nor white, yet of an ethnic strain of slight color, the question of correct racial identification could be a frustrating problem for Indian children (Berry, 1963). Is there a relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness among Indian children? Is there a relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children prefer their race? Does frequency of identification with racial group vary among age groups of Indian children? Is there a relationship between self-concept and appropriate racial preference among Indian children?

These research problems find much support in the literature of racial identification and preference. Clark and Clark (1947), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Morland (1963), and Proshansky (1966) all found the preschool ages of three to six as the stage of racial awareness, although black

children became aware of racial and ethnic differences earlier than white children. Clark and Clark (1947), Epstein and Komorita (1966), Gregor and McPherson (1966), and Morland (1966), found that black children preferred and identified with the white race rather than their own black race. Since research has not been offered which examines the questions of racial awareness and racial identification in pre-school aged Indian children, there is a need for inclusion of these variables in the present study.

Other studies have indicated that the influence of the black power movement in general (Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1972; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Ogletree, 1969) and exposure to pro-black education in particular (Bunton & Weissback, 1971) have contributed to correct racial identification and preference among black children. There is a need to examine the relative effects of the native-American movement and pro-Indian education on native American children. Previous research using age or grade level variables found greater accuracy in racial identification with older children (Clark & Clark, 1947) and the corresponding development of salient attitudes towards one's own and other racial groups (Harding et al, 1969). Major support for the inclusion of the self-concept variable comes from Epstein and Komorita (1966) who found an association between skin color and self-esteem and from Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) who suggested that diminished self-esteem is linked to color. Fuchs and

Havighurst (1972) have examined what some Indian studies have described as an "adolescent crisis" among Indian youth in which there is a drop in the level of personal-social adjustment, school achievement, and self-esteem, but the need for research investigating the relationship between self-concept and appropriate racial preference remains open. The literature has approached the problem of racial identification in general from the perspective of the black minority. This presents the need to investigate the problem from the perspective of other minority groups.

Hypotheses

Based upon the support for the problems raised the following hypotheses are presented for the present research:

- H₁ There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness.
- H₂ There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children identify with their own race.
- H₃ There is no difference between kindergarten, second grade, and fourth grade groups of Indians and the frequency with which they identify with their racial group.

- H₄ Indian children who identify with their own racial group will show more positive self-concepts than corresponding Indians who identify with Caucasians.

Importance of the Study

Identification with the prestige of the culturally dominant race seems important to black children (Ausubel & Sullivan, 1970). Black children become aware of race earlier than white children (Allport, 1954; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1958), prefer the dominant race to their own (Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1966), and develop low self esteem because of their color (Dreger & Miller, 1960; Grambs, 1965). Since Indians are also objects of scorn (Berry, 1963), and therefore have experienced minority treatment similar to that of blacks (Schermerhorn, 1967), the present study would help to determine if Indian children also identify with and show racial preference for the dominant majority group rather than their own. Although whites living near Indians are more harsh in their judgments of Indian behavior and everyday treatment of Indians, there is a sense of "enchantment" with Indians (Schermerhorn, 1967, p. 13). In comparison with previous studies in which black children have perceived themselves as the objects of derision and disparagement, as socially rejected by the prestigious elements of society, and as unworthy of succorance and affection (Coles, 1967; Deutch et al, 1956; Proshansky & Newton, 1968),

the present study will provide information regarding the relative effects of society's enchantment with Indians as this is incorporated into the self-concepts of Indian children. Studies have noted that black children become aware of race before white children (Arter, 1959; Landreth & Johnson, 1953), probably because they feel "marked" (Goodman, 1952). The variable of grade level of ethnic awareness will serve to contribute information as to whether Indian children become aware of themselves as belonging to the Indian race at the kindergarten level.

There is a new Indian consciousness characterized by self-determination (Costo, 1970; Elbert, 1973; Gemmill, 1970), local control and local operation of Indian schools (Antell, 1974; Kennedy, 1970), militancy and "Red Power" (Medicine, 1970; Oakes, 1971), and seeking fulfillment of federal obligations (Josephy, 1971, 1973). Whereas black studies have shown that the new black consciousness has served to raise the level of self-esteem and appropriate racial identification for black children, the present research will be a measure of the relative effects of the recent native-American consciousness on Indian children.

Studies with black children have found that there is an increase in appropriate racial preference when the age level of subjects is raised (Brigham, 1971; Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1962). The grade level variable included in the

present research will provide information as to whether this is also a tendency among Indian children.

Black studies have associated racial identification with self-concepts (Bernard, 1958; Coles, 1967; Proshansky, 1966; Proshansky & Newton, 1968). The importance of the present study is that it will provide information about the relationship between racial identification and self-concept among Indian children.

Assumptions and Limitations

Assumptions

(1) It is assumed that children within Indian populations at the kindergarten level have established a measurable degree of racial awareness.

(2) It is assumed that among children, the grade levels of kindergarten through four, racial identification is established and can be measured.

(3) It is assumed that within certain minority groups a level of power ideology exists which can be measured.

(4) It is assumed that the power ideology of minority groups influences the racial awareness and racial identification of the children of those groups.

(5) Self-concept for children in kindergarten through the fourth grade may be measured and is a relatively stable construct.

(6) Based upon the major premises of symbolic interactionism, it is assumed that human beings act toward themselves and others according to the meanings which the individual attaches to himself and others and this meaning may be found during the pre-school years.

Limitations

(1) More than half of the Indians living in the United States live on or near reservations. The present research is limited in that no subjects from reservations were included in the sample.

(2) The study is limited by the fact that the group of Indian children exposed to strong native-American ideology is a group in which Indians are in the majority and in which contact with urban industrial society has been limited. The group representing Indian children not exposed to strong native-American ideology comes from areas in which Indians are in the minority. One component of this group has been exposed to urban industrial society.

(3) In a methodological procedure using an instrument similar to previous research with black subjects, the present research is limited by the fact that the gross racial differences are much less pronounced between Indian and Caucasian children than between Negro and Caucasian children.

Definition of Terms

Racial awareness is used to mean the ability to recognize racial characteristics as belonging to certain racial or ethnic groups.

Racial identification is used to mean preference for or a sense of belonging to a racial group. Bandura (1973) has defined the term identification as the tendency to pattern one's "thoughts, feelings, and actions after another person who serves as a model" (p. 214). Johnson (1960) holds that one identifies with a social group if one internalizes the role system of the group and if one patterns his thoughts, feelings, and actions after that group which serves as a model. Although one may know himself to be an Indian, he may pattern his thoughts, feelings, and actions after Caucasians.

Self-concept is used to mean the constellation of evaluative attitudes and feelings towards one's self, including feelings about behavior, intellectual ability and school status, physical appearance and attributes, anxiety, popularity, happiness, and satisfaction acquired in the course of development.

Exposed group is used to mean Indians who have been exposed to a strong native-American movement. The Lumbee Indians of Robeson County are considered to have been exposed to such an Indian movement.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Racial Awareness

Awareness of racial differences occurs relatively early. Allport (1954) indicated that racial awareness may occur as early as two-and-a-half, although other research has tended to find that children become aware of race between the ages of three and five. Harding et al (1969) and Morland (1963) found that both majority and minority children have racial bias as early as three years old. By age three Hawaiian children perceive the difference between orientals and non-orientals (Springer, 1950) and divide along racial lines for play in nursery schools (McCandless & Hoyt, 1961). Where there are the pronounced differences between white and black, Clark and Clark (1947), Goodman (1952), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Stevenson and Stevenson (1960), and Vaughn (1964) found that American children by age three are aware of race and are able to correctly identify racial differences. Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that Negro nursery school children preferred white, while their white counterparts distinctly made preferences of their own color. Penniger and Williams (1966) have found that white preschoolers expressed feelings of race by making negative evaluations of blackness.

Proshansky (1966) found racial awareness established in black preschool children. Other research has found racial awareness present in white and oriental preschool children (Goodman, 1952; Johnson, 1950; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Springer, 1950).

In an experiment in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Williams and Edwards (1969) found preschool children aware of the black-white color concept which is conveyed linguistically and which serves as a framework for the learning of attitudes toward racial groups color-coded by the culture as "black" and "white."

Studies have shown differences in ages of racial awareness between majority and minority children. A study in Lynchburg, Virginia, reported that white children in a segregated city were able to distinguish between Negro and white children significantly earlier than Negro children (Morland, 1958). In contrast, Goodman (1952) and Horowitz (1939) found that black children become aware of race differences at an earlier age than white children. In a similar vein, Allport (1954) and Arter (1959) report in the results of their findings that black children all over the United States become aware of race earlier than white children. Generally, it appears that black children usually become aware of race earlier than white children and feel the stigma of being "marked" (Goodman, 1952).

Awareness of ethnic and religious differences develops at a later age than race awareness because the differences in question are more difficult to perceive in terms of stimulus content and degree of social emphasis placed upon them (Ausubel & Sullivan, 1970). The gross racial features distinguishing Indians from Caucasians are less pronounced than those between Negroes and Caucasians. Based upon this fact and Ausubel and Sullivan's (1970) finding that ethnic awareness develops at a later age, the age (measured by grade level in the present study) for racial awareness may be higher for Indian children. The age level for awareness may vary between Indian groups as dependent upon exposure to native-American ideology.

Racial Identification

Identification with and preference for the dominant racial group has been a factor with minority children (Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1966). In examining racial awareness, preference, and self-identification, Clark and Clark (1947) used a sample of black children ($N=253$) with ages ranging from three to seven. The sample was collected in a northern racially mixed nursery school and a southern segregated school. Skin colors for the study ranged from light, to medium, to dark, and the sample included 116 males and 137 females. The procedure for the research was to present each subject with four dolls identical in every respect except skin and hair color. With the dolls unclothed except

for diapers, and all extremities fixed in the same position, the examiner requested the subjects to respond to requests by choosing a doll and giving it to the examiner. The requests were as follows: (1) Give me the doll that you like to play with. (2) Give me the doll that is a nice doll. (3) Give me the doll that looks bad. (4) Give me the doll that is a nice color. (5) Give me the doll that looks like a white child. (6) Give me the doll that looks like a colored child. (7) Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child. (8) Give me the doll that looks like you (Clark & Clark, 1947, p. 169).

The first four requests were designed to reveal preferences, five through seven to show knowledge of race differences, and eight to show self-identification. In response to the requests which showed racial preference the majority of the black children preferred the white doll and rejected the colored doll. Sixty-seven percent of the children indicated they liked the white doll "best"; 59 percent chose the white doll as the "nice doll"; 59 percent indicated their feeling that the colored doll looked bad, while only 38 percent thought the brown doll was a "nice color." In response to the racial differences questions, 93 percent chose the brown doll when asked to give a colored doll and 72 percent chose the brown doll when asked to give the Negro doll. These results show that knowledge of racial differences was established and some awareness between the physical

properties of skin color and the racial concepts of "white" and "colored" (Clark & Clark, 1947).

An early study in which the researcher used pictures instead of dolls reached the same conclusion as the Clark and Clark study, that Negro children show racial preference for the white race rather than their own (Horowitz, 1939). A more recent study replicating the Clark and Clark research found that black children in the sample of the more recent study showed greater preference for the white doll (Asher & Alle, 1969). Research by Morland (1966) showed findings consistent with those of the Clark's study, that black children preferred the white race rather than their own. Research with black fifth graders examining parental ethnocentrism and punitive play suggests that the self-rejection of black children of their own race could be the result of early incorporation of white prejudices as the black children's negative feelings toward their own race were associated with their parents' self-rejecting attitudes (Epstein & Komorita, 1966).

Hartley (1946) suggests that minority children tend to adopt the ethnic attitudes of the majority in the culture. Goodman (1952) found that the majority of both white and black children were aware of the social significance of racial membership and valued people differently in terms of their color. Goff (1949) found that Negro nursery school children tended to report their pigmentation as lighter than

it actually was and that light skinned Negro children frequently identified themselves as white while darker Negro children have accepted the actuality, though not the desirability of Negroid features. Goff (1949) also found that light-skinned nursery-age children were preferred as friends and were more often assigned desirable characteristics by their peers.

Parsons and Clark (1966) found that Negro children resist identifying with their own racial group and that they seek to shed their identities. Coles (1967) and Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that black children tend to assign negative roles to children of their own race. Helgersen (1943) reported that the attitudes of Negro children attending segregated and semi-segregated schools toward white children were more favorable than the attitudes of the white children towards them. Landreth and Johnson (1953) found that three-year-old nursery school children seem aware that skin color is important and that white is to be desired and dark is to be regretted. In a study of six- and seven-year-old southern children it was demonstrated that Negro children preferred their own race in doll preference, but whereas the majority of the white children said the Negro doll was bad, none of the Negro children said the white doll was bad (Gregor & McPherson, 1966).

Studying black and white children whose ages ranged from three to six and who all attended different segregated

schools, Morland (1962) found that the large majority of the children would accept children of either race as playmates. But when forced to make a choice between a white and a black playmate, white children overwhelmingly chose white. In keeping with the findings of other studies, the majority of the black children also chose the white playmate. The interpretation which Morland places on this phenomenon is that although there is little racial prejudice in these young children, much racial bias is present.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1972), concerned that previous research on racial identification included no whites in the samples, questioned if misidentification was any more prevalent among black children than among white children. Greenwald and Oppenheim controlled for the wide variation of skin tones among blacks by adding a "mulatto" or medium brown doll, as well as a dark brown doll. By adding the two additional colors the level of misidentification was lowered, but a disproportionate preference among black children for white dolls was still noted. Data in the Greenwald and Oppenheim study indicated that white children also misidentified themselves. The mulatto doll received especially adverse evaluations from both white and black children.

It has been found that linguistics have influenced racial preferences. The language is studded with phrases and symbols used in such a way that dark and black represent death, sickness, sadness, and evil; whereas purity, goodness,

and light are represented by white (Teague, 1970). Teague's observations seem especially prominent in religious literature. Caldwell et al, (1969) have examined the negative connotations of black in terms of "black magic," "black-listed," "black lies," and associations of black with evil and darkness; while more positive values such as "white lies" are ascribed to white. Palmer and Masling (1969), controlling for greater verbal ability of white children, found that black children have greater vocabularies for describing skin color than white children. Similarly, Allport (1954) suggested that to a four-year-old dark skin connotes being dirty and in some cases feces. Goodman (1952) puts the linguistic problem in terms of a formula that may be simply written as white over brown. Williams (1954) found highly significant differences in the five connotative race-colored names: black, brown, red, yellow, and white. The results of his subjects' color rankings was that white was judged as "good" and "active" and black as "least good" and "passive." Other race-colored names were in the middle of the continuum. Other studies support these findings that linguistic usage by way of color-coding influences the development and maintenance of racial preferences (Harbin & Williams, 1966; Williams, 1965; Williams & Carter, 1967; Williams & Edwards, 1969).

Much research has been conducted on racial identification of black children. The present investigation will examine racial identification of Indian children.

Exposure to Racial Power Movements

The variable of exposure to native-American ideology in the present research is presented to measure the relative influence of conscious efforts on the part of native-Americans to instill a sense of pride in being Indians among their people. Browne (1967) has noted the change of name from "colored" to "Negro American" to "black" to "Afro-American" is a conscious attempt by black people to project an image in which they can be proud. A similar progression of words may be noted which may describe efforts on the part of Indians to instill a sense of pride in themselves: "Indian" "American Indian," "Native-American." Rhetoric such as "Red Power" and "Native Power" are terms which capture the mood of a new Indian consciousness (Josephy, 1971). "Apples" (red on the outside and white on the inside), "Uncle Tomahawks," and "stand-around-the-fort Indians" are terms which some Indians use to describe those who have abdicated their loyalties to their own people (Josephy, 1971).

Recent studies with black children indicate that black efforts have instilled a sense of pride in black children in being black. Primary black and white school children were requested to make drawings of persons in a recent study investigating racial identification in segregated and

desegregated schools (Schofield, 1975). The drawings of the two groups were analyzed for indicators of acceptance of racial identity as determined by the extent of coloring in the face of the figure. It was found that the figures drawn by blacks looked more like blacks than those drawn by whites suggesting a new acceptance of racial identity on the part of black children.

A replication of the Clark and Clark (1947) study by Hraba and Grant (1970) found that black children showed a much greater preference for black dolls. Hraba and Grant (1970), taking their sample from an integrated school, ages four to eight, draw the conclusion that black children in interracial settings are not necessarily white oriented. Hraba and Grant (1970) found that the older children who have been exposed to white children most, preferred the black doll most. Whereas 67 percent of the Clark and Clark (1947) sample of black children had rather "play with" the white doll, only 30 percent of the Hraba and Grant black children preferred to "play with" the white dolls. The "nice doll" comparison for the two studies was 59 percent for the Clark and Clark study and 46 percent for the Hraba and Grant; the "nice color," 60 percent and 31 percent respectively. An especially wide margin of difference was noted in the comparison of the two studies on the question of which doll "looks bad." Seventeen percent of the Clark and Clark sample said the white doll looks bad, whereas 61 percent of the

Hraba and Grant sample chose the white doll as looking bad. The reversal of preference on all measures was found in the 1970 study. Hraba and Grant (1970) interpret these findings by affirming that attitudes among both blacks and whites are changing and that black people are becoming proud of their race. Hraba and Grant (1970) note that if their sample were taken in the same city thirty years previously, the black children, like those in the Clark and Clark study, would have preferred the white doll. Another interpretation Hraba and Grant (1970) offer is that of conditions indigenous to Lincoln, the community in which their sample was selected in which there had been a strong "Black Movement" in the local organizations of the black communities. In the two years prior to the Hraba and Grant (1970) study there had been a black pride campaign in the black communities of that city. Johnson (1966) suggested that such local organizations disseminate racial pride.

In the same vein, Bunton and Weissback (1971) have presented findings which indicate that black children exposed to "pro-black" education in all-black community-controlled schools are significantly more likely to give pro-black responses to requests for preferences in a study such as the one presented by Clark and Clark (1947) than similar black children who had not been exposed to such a program. Bunton and Weissback (1971) found that their subjects' responses differed significantly at the end of twelve weeks of a

pro-black education program from their responses at the beginning of the program.

A recent study of black and white children in the South found that older children, grades eight through 12, of both races tended to attribute more positive traits towards their own race, and this bias was significantly greater in the black sample than in the white (Brigham, 1971). Greenwald and Oppenheim (1972), questioning many previous studies which reported a significantly higher level of misidentification among black children, found that white children misidentified themselves about the same degree as black children, suggesting that a certain amount of misidentification may occur among children regardless of race. It was concluded that black children do not manifest an unusual tendency to misidentify themselves (Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1972).

Palmer (1973), utilizing colored blocks and colored gingerbread men, found that black and white children from racially mixed neighborhoods preferred their own skin color for blacks, but when given gingerbread men colored flesh tones, the black children preferred the lighter colored gingerbread men while white children preferred the darker. However, in segregated neighborhoods black children maintained a strong preference for black.

A national survey conducted by the Michigan University Institute for Social Research (1975) reports that black

people had a strong feeling of change in conventional racial patterns between 1964 and 1975. Essien-Udom (1964) points out:

The Negroes' consciousness, though slow, is awakening to their heritage of abuse and degradation, and, especially, to their possible destiny as human beings. It may well signal the beginning of the end of the Negroes' aimless and vain desire to hide their dark skin behind a white mask (p. 353).

There is a new Indian consciousness. This new consciousness may be viewed in three simultaneous movements. The first movement is tribal resurgence (Faherty, 1974; Nagel, 1974; Waugh, 1971); the second involves the activity of the American Indian Movement AIM (Elbert, 1973; Oates, 1971; Waldron, 1973); and the third involves the efforts of several national councils and organizations of Indian groups such as the National Congress of American Indians (Indian Record, 1974; Federal Indian Policies, no date given).

Studies of racial identification with black children have noted a change in preferences in that black children recently have appropriately identified with the black race. This has been interpreted as resulting from the recent black consciousness in this country. The present investigation will provide information as to the relative effects of the recent native-American consciousness upon the racial awareness and racial identification of Indian children.

Grade Level as a Research Variable

Harding et al (1961) have theorized three overlapping stages in the development of racial attitudes in majority and minority children. During the first stage which begins at approximately three years of age the child develops an awareness of his own racial identity and through the reciprocal and simultaneous process of becoming aware of himself identifies others of his racial group. Attaining a racial orientation or "incipient" attitude, the second stage occurs between the ages of four and eight. In this period Harding et al (1961) believe that the child learns many of the concepts used to describe other racial groups, but the full meaning of such labels remains unrecognized. Harding et al (1961) hold that the fact that the child does not develop "adult" racial attitudes until age eight does not mean that preferences are absent before this period since children in the first period show preferences. It is in this third stage that the "adult" attitude becomes salient, and a developed picture of verbal and behavioral rejection, hostility, and stereotyping becomes apparent in the child (Harding et al, 1961).

Several studies have found that an increase in the age of the subjects has resulted in an increase in appropriate racial identification. Clark and Clark (1947) found an association between the age of the subject and appropriate

racial preference in that as the age level of the subjects increased, identification with the "colored" doll also increased. Morland (1962) examined the relationship between age and choice of playmates according to race and found that older black children were more likely to prefer children of their own race as playmates than younger black children. Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that preferences for white skin color decreases as the age level of black children increases. Ausubel and Sullivan (1970) found that identification with parents and peer group by six- and seven-year-olds increases appropriate racial identification also.

Koch (1946) found that racial self-preference, as measured by sociometric measures, continues to increase from kindergarten through the twelfth grade and that crossing the color line practically ceases after the tenth grade. An ethnic study with Filipino children indicated that self-preference in terms of ethnic identity increased with age and that identity was strongest with the immediately surrounding group rather than with a national group (Jamias et al, 1971). Religious preference for one's own religious group, less obvious and less important, has been found to develop during the early elementary school years (Radke & Trager, 1949).

Studies have found an association between age and appropriate racial preference for black, white, and Oriental preschool and school children. Similarly, preferences with particular religious groups have been associated with age. The present research will focus on the variable of grade level of Indian children as it is associated with appropriate racial preference. The results of the findings on this variable will give insight as to whether the association between age and racial preference found in other racial, ethnic, and religious groups is also found among Indian children.

Self-Concept

Various researchers have found an association between perceived racial membership and self-evaluation. The conclusion drawn by Grambs (1965) is: "The self-esteem of the Negro is damaged by the over-whelming fact that the world he lives in says, 'White is right; black is bad'" (p. 15). Similarly, Baldwin (1962) asserts: "Negroes in this country. . .are taught to despise themselves from the moment their eyes open to the world" (p. 65). No matter how much effort a black person may exert to conform to the dominant culture, the color of his skin prevents him from becoming fully acceptable to large segments of the white population and often to himself (Goldschmid, 1970). Dreger and Miller (1960) found that while the white

person's skin color has relatively little effect on his self-concept, black skin in a white society is a crucial factor in identity development. Poor performance in school has been associated with membership in a disadvantaged minority group, broken homes, absent fathers, and a negative self-image (Gwinn, 1976). The black child, rejected by the more prestigious elements of society, perceives himself as unworthy of succorance and affection (Coles, 1967). The black child finds no compelling reasons for not accepting the culturally sanctioned negative evaluation of himself and develops a deeply ingrained negative self-image (Coles, 1967; Proshansky, 1966; Proshansky & Newton, 1968).

Black fifth grade boys and girls exhibited the greatest social distance "towards a fictitious group depicted as having the same racial characteristics as themselves" (Epstein & Komorita, 1966, p. 645). The interpretation of these findings was that the black children's low self-esteem was based more on racial than socioeconomic factors since the children tended to reject themselves on the basis of skin color (Epstein & Komorita, 1966). A clinical study by Grier and Cobbs (1969) found that black individuals struggle to cope with diminished supplies of self-esteem due to the attitudes shared by whites and blacks that blacks are inferior.

Siggers (1971) found that both minority and majority children in segregated schools have high aspirations, but

that segregation produces feelings of imposed inferiority among minority children. She concluded that both ethnic identity and self-worth are better served through integration. Zirkel and Moses (1971) noted the self-concept of ethnic children is significantly affected by their ethnic group membership, but not by the majority-minority mixture of the groups within the schools which the students attend.

As may be expected, the problem of self-concept is a problem for Indian children who also suffer from a sense of diminished self-esteem. Fey (1971) holds that the "dumb Indian" reproach is so often made in work and attitude that the average Indian child comes to believe that he is below average intelligence resulting in a negative self-image. Similarly, Bechmann (1968) concluded that the major barrier to the Indian's success in American society is the attitude of the Anglo toward the Indian.

Employing the procedures of content analysis, Green (1974) investigated the role and characterization of the American Indian as depicted in the western comic book. Significant findings reflecting Indian stereotypes among the stories analyzed were: (1) Grim facial expressions (100 percent); (2) Indians as naked above the waist, wearing loincloth, leggings, and moccasins; (3) Dominance of the raiding, followed by the hunting economy; (4) Violence initiated by Indians against non-Indians; (5) Non-Indian

protagonist heroes (86.4 percent) vs. Indian villains (77.3 percent); (6) Personality traits of vengeance, hatred, and revenge; (7) Two hundred and sixty-eight examples of poor speech vs. ten non-Indian examples; (8) Adjectives describing the Indian as aggressive, revengeful, cruel, treacherous, and cowardly vs. those describing the non-Indian as alert, persistent, individualistic, and shrewd.

The Consulting Services Corporation (1969) concluded that there are cultural differences between Indians and non-Indians, that school personnel fail to recognize these cultural differences and are therefore unable to adapt to the teaching of Indian students. Consequently, the students suffer from feelings of inferiority, develop negative feelings towards themselves, and tend to drop out of school.

In a pretest and posttest analysis of ninth grade Oglala Sioux, One Feather (1972) found that an integrated program of instructional subject matter in the area of the history and culture of the Oglala people increased the self-image of the students. Hughes (1972) gave prominent support to the One Feather research through the findings of Project Heed, an ethnic depolarization project involving 1,000 Indian children in Arizona. The project was aimed towards increasing reading achievement, affective behavior of teachers, motivation by means of open curriculum, involvement of parents in community and school activities. An

analysis of the value of the project by pretest and posttest found an increase in the self-image of the students. Similarly, Westcott (1974) found that one effect of the Destar Reading Program (a program designed to compensate for language and reading problems) was an increase in reading achievements which were also found to be correlated with more positive self-concepts.

Hepner (1973) designed a study to determine whether general compensatory education can influence the self-esteem of minority and disadvantaged students and whether self-esteem improves with school achievement due to compensatory interventions. Contrary to the findings cited above, Hepner found that compensatory education in itself did not produce many changes in the student's self-esteem. A replication of the One Feather (1972) study with Project Heed found that pretest and posttest measurements of the objectives of development of cultural awareness in meeting the needs of Indian children showed little positive change and in some instances a retrogression in self-concept (Edington & Pettibone, 1974).

Research has found that some factors which indicate low self-esteem, demoralization, and defeatism (suicide, family disintegration, homicide, and alcoholism) are higher among Indians, and particularly Indian youth, than any other group (Frederick, 1974). The struggle for self-esteem is a

major task of adolescent development and this struggle is magnified by certain psychosocial forces which retard ego identity development. American Indians share a centuries old, psychohistorical experience of massive disenfranchisement, powerlessness, and enforced dependency (Hammerschlag, 1974).

In summary, research findings indicate a relationship between racial group membership and self-concept. However, similar research measuring the relative effects of efforts towards cultural awareness have received differential interpretations for the self-concept variable. The present investigation will provide information regarding the association between racial preference and self-concept among Indian children.

Summary

Research efforts have provided some understanding of the problems of racial identification and racial awareness. For the most part research has been limited to black and white children with the exceptions of one study with Filipino children and one with Hawaiian children (Jamais et al, 1971; Springer, 1950). The classic Clark and Clark (1947) research, along with other replications of that study, indicates that black children tend to identify with the dominant white race rather than their own race. Research with white children has generally found that white children identify

with or prefer their own race (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Morland, 1962). The major exception to misidentification among white children is that of Greenwald and Oppenheim (1972). Research has not examined racial identification and racial awareness among Indian children. Valuable contributions could be made to the literature through a study of these variables with Indian children.

Recent replications of racial identification research has noted a reversal of preferences among black children which has been interpreted as resulting from conscious black efforts to instill a sense of pride in black children in being black (Bunton & Weissback, 1971; Hraba & Grant, 1970). Part of the black movement has been the changing of the name designating blacks from "colored" to "Afro-American" (Browne, 1967). Corresponding conscious efforts for instilling racial pride have been noted among American Indians not only through the changing of names designating the group referred to as Indian, but through the movement of tribal resurgence (Faherty, 1974), the American Indian Movement (Elbert, 1973; Waldron, 1973), and many efforts of national organizations of Indians (Indian Record, 1974).

Various research has found an association between racial membership and self-concept. Black skin in a predominantly white society prevents black children from feeling acceptable to themselves (Goldschmid, 1970), causes

black children to perceive themselves as unworthy of love and affection (Coles, 1967), is associated with deeply ingrained negative self-images (Proshansky & Newton, 1962), and is a crucial factor in identity development (Dreger & Miller, 1960). Indian children also suffer from a sense of diminished self-esteem (Bechmann, 1968; Fey, 1971). Indians as a race have been stereotyped as grim, naked, violent, revengeful, cruel, cowardly, and ignorant (Green, 1974). Although there is some disagreement as to the effects of a program on Indian history and culture improving the self-esteem of Indian children, there is more support that change does occur toward improved self-images (Hughes, 1972; One Feather, 1972).

Research on the relationship between racial preference and self-concept generally is lacking in studies of both black and Indian children. The relationship between racial preference and self-concept has not been established. The present investigation will provide information about this relationship among Indian children.

CHAPTER III
METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Pilot Study

The home-school coordinator assigned to work with Indian children in the Greensboro City Schools, Greensboro, North Carolina, served as the contact person for the Greensboro City Schools. A roster of all American Indian children in kindergarten, second, and fourth grades was secured from the home-school coordinator. From the roster the subjects were grouped according to grade level and each subject was numbered. Using a table of random numbers 10 subjects were selected from each grade level for a total of 30 for the pilot study.

From the total sample population 15 subjects were randomly assigned to Group I and 15 to Group II. The 15 subjects assigned to Group I were interviewed by an Indian and the 15 subjects assigned to Group II were interviewed by a Caucasian. All kindergarten subjects were tested on the first day, second grade subjects on the second day, and fourth grade subjects on the third day. Each test was given in the office of the Guilford County Native American Association. No one was present in the room except the subject and the test giver. Pictures, books and distracting objects were removed from the room. The testing room was furnished

with a desk and two chairs so that the test giver was able to sit across the desk from the subject.

There were two purposes of the pilot study. The first purpose was to determine whether children are able to differentiate between the drawings which are characterizations of Indian children and Caucasian children which is the major testing instrument for the present research. Research on racial identification has used various testing instruments ranging from dolls (Clark & Clark, 1947; Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Hraba & Grant, 1970), to photographs (Horowitz, 1939; Morland, 1958), to shade of skin color judged on the dorsal surface of the hand (Freeman, 1966), to colors of gingerbreadmen (Palmer, 1973). The testing instrument of the present study was four drawings, two of Caucasian and two of Indian children representing both sexes. This instrument was developed especially for the present research. The interviewers were given instructions to follow the same procedure and sentence wording for each subject. Subjects were brought to the testing room and the tests given individually.

The interviewer greeted each subject in a friendly manner saying the following statement:

Hello, how are you today? (Awaited subject's response). I would like to take a few minutes for you to tell me how you feel about some pictures. You will see that these pictures are drawings of children about your age. It is important for me to know just how you feel about these pictures. Now I am going to ask you

some questions about the pictures and I want you to answer the questions just the way you feel. Okay, let's begin.

The test giver then placed two drawings in front of the subjects, a drawing of a Caucasian and Indian boy for male subjects and a drawing of a Caucasian and Indian girl for female subjects. The interviewer then asked each child: "Which picture looks like an Indian child?" After the interviewer had scored the subject's response, the interviewer asked: "Which picture looks like a white child?" (See Appendix for Pilot Study Performance Schedule).

The second purpose of the pilot study was to control for the race of the interviewer. Previous research controlling for the race of the interviewer found that the race of the interviewer does not significantly affect the respondents' choices (Asher & Allen, 1969; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Morland, 1966). Nevertheless, the present research controlled for this variable in the pilot study. Following the initial questions to test the respondents' ability to differentiate between the drawings of Caucasian and Indian children, the interviewers asked the questions which investigate racial preference. The interviewer placed all four drawings in front of each child. The arrangement of the drawings for the first subject was: white male, Indian male, white female, Indian female. The order for each succeeding interview was to place the last drawing from the former

interview first. After placing the four drawings in front of each child, the interviewer asked the subject the following questions: "Which picture do you like the best?" "Which picture is a picture of a person you would like as a friend?" "Which picture looks bad?" "Which picture is a picture of the smartest child?" "Which picture is a nice color?" (See Appendix for Pilot Study Performance Schedule). A visual scanning of the responses of the subjects indicated that the race of the interviewers did not affect the children's responses and that the children could differentiate between the drawings.

The Study

Subjects

The sample for the present investigation was taken from the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, where there is a strong native-American movement and from populations of Indians in Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond counties in which the native-American movement is less visible or absent. Initial contact for approval of the research was made through the North Carolina Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Raleigh, North Carolina. Information regarding the necessary procedures and contact persons for each Indian tribe or group for the present research was secured from the Commissioner.

The sample was composed of 90 Indian children, 45 of whom were selected from the Lumbee population which

represented the pro-Indian or native-American movement part of the sample, and 45 of whom were selected from the Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond County populations which represented Indian children not exposed to a strong native-American movement. The subjects from the Lumbee population were designated as Group A and the subjects from Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond Counties were designated as Group B. The subjects of Group A came from a county in which the total Indian population is 26,486 (Census of Population, PC (1)-A35, 1970). The Group A sample was composed of Indian children attending the elementary school in Pembroke, North Carolina. Initial contact was made through the Superintendent of Robeson County Schools. Later, contact was made with the principal of the elementary school. The purposes of the present research, the number of subjects needed, and the approximate time for each test were explained to both the superintendent and the principal. After permission for the study was obtained a roster of Indian students in kindergarten, the second, and the fourth grade was requested from the principal. From the roster students were alphabetized for each grade level. Using a table of random numbers, 15 subjects for the kindergarten, 15 subjects from the second grade, and 15 subjects from the fourth grade were selected for a total yield of 45 for Group A.

The selection of the Lumbee population for Group A representing a strong Indian movement exposure was based on

the strong native-American movement occurring within this Indian population within the last 20 years. Incidents of native-Americanism within the Lumbee Indian population include: (A) responding to the AIM (American Indian Movement) occupation of Wounded Knee by a 40-car caravan of Lumbees through the streets of Lumberton, North Carolina, smashing windows of businesses for three consecutive nights (Time, March 19, 1973); (B) speaking through the Carolina Indian Voice, a Lumbee weekly, the Lumbees raised opposition to the bones of Indian ancestors being uncovered and on public display at the Town Creek Indian Mound (Bledsoe, 1974); (C) the arson of Old Main on the campus of Pembroke State University in 1973 although the identity of the arsonist(s) has not yet been discovered (Dial & Eliades, 1975); (D) the dispute over what proper name the Lumbee Indian people should be called that would properly designate their Indian heritage (Dial & Eliades, 1975); (E) the movement to have local schools run by the Indians (Dial & Eliades, 1975); (F) the bringing of national AIM leaders to speak at Lumbee gatherings (Dail & Eliades, 1975); (G) the discovery of four tons of Bureau of Indian Affairs records in an abandoned farm house in Robeson County following the occupation of the BIA headquarters in Washington, D. C. in 1973 (Dial & Eliades, 1975); (H) the encounter with the routing of the Ku Klux Klan in 1958 (Dial & Eliades, 1975).

Group B, or the non-militant component, came from Indian children attending schools in Guilford County, North Carolina (N=15), Sampson County, North Carolina (N=15), and Richmond County, North Carolina (N=15). The grade levels of the subjects for Group B paralleled those of Group A: kindergarten (N=15), second grade (N=15), and fourth grade (N=15).

The Guilford County subjects provided representation for Indians living in urban areas. It appeared important that urban Indians be represented in Group B since many formerly reservation and rural Indians are now living in urban areas (Westermann, 1974). Often urban Indians seek assimilation into the larger society abandoning any sense of Indian identity (Westermann, 1974). Contact with the Guilford County sample was made through the home-school coordinator assigned to work with Indian students in the Guilford County Schools. A roster of 15 kindergarten, 11 second, and 9 fourth grade Indian children in the Guilford County schools was obtained from the home-school coordinator from which a random sample was selected. The roster was alphabetized for each grade level and through the use of a table of random numbers subjects were selected for the Guilford County portion of the sample.

The home-school coordinator assigned to work with Indian children in Sampson County provided a roster of

9 kindergarten, 8 second grade, and 9 fourth grade Indian children attending school in Sampson County. The area coordinator for the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs provided a roster of 6 kindergarten, 8 second grade, and 9 fourth grade Indian children in Richmond County. Using a table of random numbers 5 kindergarten, 5 second grade, and 5 fourth grade children were selected from each geographical area. The subjects from Sampson and Richmond Counties provided representation of Indians living within rural Indian communities in which no strong native-American movement has been noted. Subjects from Guilford County (N=15), from Sampson County (N=15), and from Richmond County (N=15), provided a total yield of 45 for Group B.

A history of militancy or American Indian power has been noted among the Lumbee Indians from which subjects in Group A were selected. Such a movement has been less visible or absent among the Indian populations from which the sample for Group B was selected. For the purpose of measuring native-American power ideology a sample of heads-of-household (N=50) was taken. Twenty-five heads-of-household with children in Group A and 25 heads-of-household with children in Group B were randomly selected to measure this variable. The sample of heads-of-household was selected by arranging the names of the subjects in Groups A

alphabetically and by using a table of random numbers selecting the total desired yield of 25 per group.

Research Instruments

The research instruments included choices between drawings of Indian and Caucasian children in response to a battery of questions; the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (1969); and a modified version of the Black Power Ideology Scale II (Lessing, 1976). The drawings of Indian and Caucasian children were pretested in the pilot study. A description of each instrument follows:

Racial Identification and Racial Awareness

Racial identification and racial awareness were measured through the use of four drawings of Indian and Caucasian children and the choices between the drawings in response to the questions asked. The four drawings consisted of a young Indian boy, a young Indian girl, a young Caucasian boy, and a young Caucasian girl. A drawing of both races and both sexes was presented as a possible choice in order that each subject be able to respond to each question by choosing a drawing of a child within his own race and sex as he or she preferred (Gewirtz, 1973; Lynn, 1959). All drawings were identical as to age, position of extremities, and facial expressions. Figures in the female characterizations were dressed in identical dresses, while those in the male characterizations were dressed in identical shirts and denim jeans. The only difference in the figures

was their racial features of complexion, eye and hair color, and facial features of cheek bones, lips, and nose. It was determined from the findings in the pilot study that the Indian children could differentiate between the drawings characterizing Caucasian children from those of Indian children. Ninety-three percent of the responses for the questions asking which drawings looked like Indian children and which drawings looked like white children were correct.

The first five questions were to determine racial identification or preference (See Appendix for Racial Identification and Awareness Schedule). The questions were:

- (1) Which picture do you like best?
- (2) Which picture is a picture of a person you would like as a friend?
- (3) Which picture looks bad?
- (4) Which picture is a nice color?
- (5) Which picture is a picture of the smartest child?

The remaining four questions were to determine racial awareness among the subjects and their knowledge of membership in a given racial groups (See Appendix for Racial Identification and Awareness Schedule). The questions were:

- (6) Which picture looks like an Indian child?
- (7) Which picture looks like a white child?
- (8) Which picture looks like you?
- (9) Are you an Indian?

These questions are similar to the battery of questions found in the Clark and Clark study (1947). Two major differences are that the words "Negro" and "colored" of the Clark and Clark study are changed to Indian for the present investigation and the addition of question 9. Question 9 was added after the observation was made in the pilot study that the racial features of some Indian children are not those which have traditionally been thought of as Indian. Clark and Clark (1947) found it necessary to present the preference requests first because in a preliminary investigation it was clear that the children who had already identified themselves with the black doll had a marked tendency to indicate preference for this doll. Following the Clark and Clark (1947) findings the first five questions of the present research are questions measuring racial identification or preference while the last four questions are requests to determine the subjects' racial awareness. This instrument is an adaptation of instruments used in previous research of racial awareness and identification (Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1947; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Morland, 1958, 1966). Despite continued use of this instrument over the past 30 years no information on reliability or validity of this procedure has been established. The continued use of this technique coupled with the frequency with which performance on picture or doll selection has been found to be related to specific variables

of interest would indicate its effectiveness as a research procedure. The time for each battery of questions was 4 minutes.

Self-Concept

The instrument to measure self-concept was the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale P-HSC (1969). The P-HSC measures self-concept according to the factors of behavior, intellectual and school status, physical appearance and attributes, anxiety, popularity, and happiness and satisfaction. A total of 80 items appear on the P-HSC and the time required to complete the test ranges from 15 to 20 minutes although there is no time limit. Sample items of the P-HSC include: "I am a happy person." "I am smart." "I have nice hair." "I am a good person." A reading knowledge at the third grade level is necessary for the scale, but it may be administered orally to subjects whose reading level is below the third grade.

Test data on the P-HSC have been collected on a number of samples. Most of the reliability data come from the original standardization study which used a 95-item scale. To judge the homogeneity of the test, using samples of boys and girls from grades 3, 6, and 10, and using the Kuder-Richardson Formula 21, Piers and Harris (1969) found the scale to have reliability coefficients ranging from .78 to .93. The stability of the scale was measured by a retest after four months on half of the standardization sample

resulting in coefficients of .72, .71, and .72 which were judged satisfactory for a personality instrument over so long a period of time (Piers & Harris, 1969). The shortened 80-item revised scale, used in the present investigation, has been shown to have better reliability since Wing (1966) found for both a two-month and a four-month test-retest coefficients of .77. Mayer (1965) compared scores of the P-HSC with scores on the Lipsitt's Children's Self-Concept Scale (1958) on a sample of 98 special education students whose ages ranged from 12 to 16 and obtained a correlation of .68. Piers and Harris (1969) have noted that average scores are usually considered to be scores between the 31st and 70th percentiles or between the raw scores of 46 and 60. It has not been demonstrated that consistent differences exist in the mean scores due to sex or grade levels.

Native-American Power Ideology

The instrument to measure Indian or native-American power ideology was an adapted version of the Black Power Ideology Scale II BPIS II (Lessing, 1976). The BPIS II is a 40-item questionnaire with items in the following format: "Black Americans should take a special interest in the work of black writers, black artists, and black musicians." The adaptation of the BPIS II for the present research changed the wording of each item so that it was appropriate for Indian subjects. The format of the above sample item was therefore: "American Indians should take a special interest

in the work of American Indian writers, artists, and musicians." All items were answerable on a 5-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Numerical equivalents of 5 to 1 were assigned to the alternatives with 5 being considered the most pro-Indian response.

The BPIS II contains five content clusters intended to reflect distinctive components of black power ideology in the writings of black power theorists. The five clusters are: Black Culture-Black Identity, Political-Economic Focus, Militancy, Group Solidarity vs. Individualism, and Separatism vs. Integration. Reliability of the BPIS II have been evaluated through tests of internal consistency and of both the total and composite scores. With regards to cluster groups the reliability coefficients ranged from .71 on the Political-Economic Focus subscale to .81 on the Black Culture-Black Identity subscale (Mimeographed letter from Elise E. Lessing, June 23, 1975). The reliability of other subscales were: Militancy, .75; Group Solidarity vs. Individualism, .76; and Separatism vs. Integration, .77. The total score reliability coefficient for test-retest was .88. These tests of reliability were conducted on 302 young adults (college students).

There have been rather consistent findings between college and high school groups with regard to construct validity of the BPIS II instrument. Using as a criterion

variable ethnic organization membership, studies have shown each of the clusters to be significantly related to membership in ethnic organizations among both college and high school students ($p < .01$). One exception to this pattern of consistency has been the subscale of Separatism vs. Integration among high school students which has failed to be associated with membership in an ethnic organization. The total scores for both high school and college groups have been found to be significantly related to membership in ethnic organizations (Mimeographed letter from Elise E. Lessing, June 23, 1975).

Procedures

It was found in the pilot study that the race of the interviewer does not influence the responses of the subjects. The subjects' responses tended to show racial identification with the drawings of Indian children when tested by an Indian or Caucasian test giver. Sixty-eight percent of the responses were preferences for Indian when requests were made by an Indian and 73 percent were preferences for Indian when requests were made by a Caucasian test giver. Based upon these findings in the pilot study both Indian and Caucasian interviewers were used in the research.

Rooms for testing were secured through the cooperation of the various school officials. Each room had as few distractions as possible as to pictures, windows, and book cases. Furnishings for the testing rooms included a desk or

table with one chair on either side in order that the subject sit across from the interviewer. Subjects were brought into the testing room individually. The interviewers greeted each subject in a friendly manner and asked the subject to be seated. The interviewer then made the following statement:

Hello, how are you today? (Awaited subject's response). I would like to take a few minutes for you to tell me how you feel about some pictures. You will see these pictures are drawings of children about your age. It is very important for me to know just how you feel about these pictures. Now I am going to ask you some questions about the pictures and I want you to answer the questions just the way you feel. Okay, let's begin.

The interviewer then placed the four drawings of Indian and Caucasian children in front of the subject. The order for the drawings for the first subject of Group A and Group B was: white male, Indian male, white female, Indian female. The order for each succeeding interview was to place the last drawing from the former interview first. After placing the four drawings on the table in front of each subject the interviewer asked the battery of nine questions noting each subject's response on the performance schedule. (See Appendix for Racial Identification and Awareness Schedule).

The interviewer then administered the P-HSC. All P-HSC tests were administered orally. The interviewer introduced the P-HSC scale with the following statement:

Now I am going to say some sentences. I want you to tell me if the sentences are true or not true about

You. If what I say is true about you, say "Yes," and if what I say is not true about you, say, "No." Remember that only you can tell me how you feel. No answers are right or wrong, because all I want to know is how you feel. Okay, let's begin.

After the interviewer was sure each subject understood the instruction, he proceeded with administering the P-HSC.

Indian interviewers were secured from Guilford, Sampson, Richmond, and Robeson Counties to administer the adapted version of the BPIS II. The interviewers were given instructions on how to administer the adapted version of the BPIS II. The interviewers contacted the 25 heads-of-household who had been randomly selected from subjects in Group A and the 25 heads-of-household from the subjects in Group B. The interviewers informed the heads-of-household that they had been randomly selected to participate in some research regarding the attitude of American Indians towards themselves. The interviewers explained to those selected that all information would be kept confidential and that it was important that they participate in the study. The interviewers left the BPIS II with the heads-of-household and returned to their homes and picked them up at a later date. Twenty-two heads-of-household with children in Group A and 24 heads-of-household with children in Group B participated in the study by returning the requested BPIS II. These heads-of-household were about equally divided between men and women.

Data Analysis

The data indicating racial awareness and racial identification were collapsed in order that the data be in the form of dichotomous selections between Indian and Caucasian, that is, either identification with Indians or identification with Caucasians. The main type of analysis for the present investigation was chi square tests for independence. Gamma (G) was used to determine the strength of the relationship for variables in which a significant relationship was found. The analysis of data plan is now presented according to the hypotheses which were tested.

H₁ There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness.

This hypothesis was tested by a 2 X 2 chi square design for the four questions for determining racial awareness, that is, "Which picture looks like an Indian child?" "Which picture looks like a white child?" "Which picture looks like you?" "Are you an Indian?" Each subject was scored on the majority of his or her correct responses to the four questions. Three or more correct responses were taken to mean that the subject was aware of the racial differences between Caucasians and Indians.

H₂ There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children identify with their own race.

Hypothesis two was tested through a 2 X 2 chi square design for responses to the five questions to determine racial identification or preference. The five questions were: "Which picture do you like best?" "Which picture is a picture of a person you would like as a friend?" "Which picture looks bad?" "Which picture is a nice color?" Responses to the five questions were tallied for each child in the exposed group and nonexposed group as related to the number of preferences for Indian vs. the number of preferences for Caucasian. Each subject was scored based on the majority of his responses to the five questions examining racial identification. That is, a subject who preferred Indian in three or more of his responses was scored as identifying with the Indian drawings. The number of frequencies of preferences for Indian for the exposed group were entered into a contingency table as well as the other three possible combinations, i. e. frequencies of preferences for Caucasian for the exposed group, frequencies of preferences for Indian for the nonexposed group, and frequencies of preferences for Caucasian for the nonexposed group.

H₃ There is no difference between kindergarten, second grade, and fourth grade groups of Indians and the frequency with which they identify with their racial group.

Subjects from Group A and Group B were divided into the three grade levels of kindergarten, second grade, and fourth grade. Using a 3 X 2 chi square design hypothesis three was tested for the variables of grade level and racial identification. The strength of the association between the two variables was measured through the use of gamma.

H₄ Indian children who identify with their own racial group will show more positive self-concepts than corresponding Indians who identify with Caucasians.

A t test was performed to determine the differences in means between subjects who identify with the Indian race and subjects who identify with the Caucasian race and self-concept scores.

BPIS II Scores

An analysis of variance was performed on the BPIS II scores from the heads-of-household whose children were in Group A and Group B.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter reports the findings from the testing of the four hypotheses of the investigation and other data related to the discussion section of Chapter V. As reported in Chapter III, chi square was the main type of data analysis for Hypotheses I, II, and III. The strength of the association between the variables was measured through the use of gamma for variables in which statistical independence was not found. Hypothesis IV was tested through the use of a t test to determine the differences in means between subjects who identify with the Indian race and subjects who identify with the Caucasian race and self-concept. The results of the analyses are now presented in relation to the four hypotheses of the investigation.

Hypothesis I

H₁ There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness.

Table 1 is a contingency table which compares the racial awareness of the subjects as determined by the racial awareness instrument of this investigation with the type of exposure, that is, Group A or Group B. Table 1 indicates

that racial awareness for Indian children was not found dependent on a strong native-American movement. No significant difference was found between children who had been exposed to the Indian movement and those not exposed. The chi square test for independence was not found significant ($\chi^2 = .14$, $p > .05$). As a result, H_1 was not supported by the data.

Hypothesis II

H_2 There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children identify with their own race.

As observed in Table 1, racial identification was not found dependent on exposure to a strong native-American movement. Subjects from Group A (the exposed group) and subjects from Group B (the unexposed group) were equal in their identification with the Indian drawings. There were 25 from each group which showed racial preference for Indian and 20 from each group which showed preference for Caucasian. The chi square test for independence was not found significant ($\chi^2 = .05$, $p > .05$). Therefore, H_2 was not supported by the data.

Table 1
Frequencies for Type of Exposure and Racial
Awareness and Racial Identification

Variables	<u>Type of Exposure</u>	
	Exposed	Non-exposed
<u>Awareness</u>		
Aware	40	42
Non-aware	5	3
$(\chi^2 = .14, df = 1, p > .05)$		
<u>Identification</u>		
Indian	25	25
White	20	20
$(\chi^2 = .05, df = 1, p > .05)$		

Hypothesis III

- H₃ There is no difference between kindergarten, second grade, and fourth grade groups of Indians and the frequency with which they identify with their group.

Table 2 shows the relationship of grade level and racial identification of Indian children. The data indicates that the null hypothesis was rejected and that the alternate hypothesis was accepted. The data indicates that racial identification was not independent of grade level ($\chi^2 = 12.5$, $p < .002$). In other words, there was a difference between kindergarten, second, and fourth grade Indian children and the frequency with which they identified with their own race. Since the two variables in question were not found to be independent, the strength of the association was measured through gamma. The data indicate a strong association between racial identification and grade level ($G = -.55$). Table 2 shows that as grade levels increase, identification with the Indian race also increases while identification with the white race decreases.

Table 2
Frequencies for Racial Preference According to Grade *

	Grade Level		
	Kindergarten	Second	Fourth
Preference			
Indian	9	19	22
White	21	11	8

$$*\chi^2 = 12.5, \text{ df} = 2, p < .002; G = -.55$$

Hypothesis IV

H_4 Indian children who identify with their own racial group will show more positive self-concepts than corresponding Indians who identify with Caucasians.

The final hypothesis involved the relationship between racial identification and self-concept. The mean scores for those who identified with the Indian race was 60.1 and the mean scores for those who identified with the white race was 56.4. A t test performed on the self-concept mean scores of children who identify with the Indian race and those who identify with the Caucasian race was not significant ($t = 1.36$, $p > .05$). It was therefore concluded that H_4 was not supported by the data. Indian children who identify with their own race do not show more positive self-concepts than corresponding Indians who identify with Caucasians.

BPIS II Scores

An analysis of variance was performed on the adapted version of the BPIS II scores from the sample of heads-of-household in Group A and Group B. The analysis of variance yielded an F ratio of 2.81 ($p < .10$). Based upon this finding it was concluded that a higher degree of American Indian power ideology exists among the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County than among Indians living in Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond Counties.

The findings and analysis of the data in this chapter are followed by a discussion and summary of the results. Conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made for further study.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Studies with black and white children have indicated that black children become aware of race earlier than white children (Allport, 1954; Arter, 1959). Early studies indicated that black children racially identified with or preferred the white race while white children identified with their own race (Clark & Clark, 1947). Subsequent to the black movement in America, research has found that black children now identify with their own race.

The present investigation attempted to elucidate the questions of racial awareness and racial identification among Indian children as influenced by exposure to a strong native-American movement. The study sought to investigate the relationship between racial awareness and racial identification and exposure to the Indian movement. The grade level variable was included in the study to determine if racial identification with the Indian race changed according to age groups among Indian children as has been found among other racial groups. Finally, it appeared that self-concept would be an important variable to consider as related to racial identification. It was expected that Indian children

who identified with their own race would have higher self-concepts than Indian children who identified with the white race.

The sample for the study consisted of 15 kindergarten, 15 second grade, and 15 fourth grade Indian children from the Pembroke Elementary School, and a composite random sample of 15 kindergarten, 15 second grade, and 15 fourth grade Indian children from Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond Counties. Native-American power ideology was measured through an adapted version of the BPIS II Scale (Lessing, 1976) which was given to a random sample of 25 heads-of-household from Group A and 25 from Group B. Chi square, gamma, and t tests, were the main statistical procedures utilized.

Discussion

Racial Awareness

The literature indicated that minority children become aware of race earlier than majority children (Harding et al, 1969; Morland, 1963). Where there are pronounced racial differences, as between black and white, children by age three are aware of race and able to correctly identify racial differences (Stevenson & Stevenson, 1963; Vaughn, 1964). Awareness of ethnic and religious differences develop at a later age because the differences in question are more difficult to perceive and because of the social importance placed upon them (Ausubel & Sullivan, 1970).

Based upon Ausubel and Sullivan's finding that ethnic awareness comes at a later age and the fact that the gross racial features distinguishing Indians from Caucasians are less pronounced than those distinguishing blacks from whites, it was expected that Indian children who had been exposed to a strong Indian influence would be more aware of racial differences than Indian children who had not been under such an influence. The data from the present research do not support this hypothesis. Children from Group A and Group B were equal in their awareness of the differences between Indians and Caucasians and their self identity as Indians. One explanation of this finding probably lies in the fact that nearly all of the subjects were racially aware of the differences between the two races as depicted in the testing instrument. Only 9 percent of the subjects were racially unaware. Based upon the findings of no difference in racial awareness between subjects in Group A and Group B, it appears that Indian children are aware of race during the kindergarten and early school years regardless of exposure to a strong Indian movement. The slight color and racial differences between Indians and Caucasians do not appear to hinder Indian children from the ability to differentiate one from the other or to confuse the children of their own racial identity.

Racial Identification

Racial identification or preference for the dominant race has been a factor with black children (Clark & Clark, 1947; Morland, 1966). An early study found that black children showed racial preference for the white race rather than their own race (Clark & Clark, 1947). Replications of the Clark and Clark study in recent years, however, have shown that black children now identify with their own race (Bunton & Weissback, 1971; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Palmer, 1973). Researchers attributed the reversal of racial preferences to the influence of the black movement. Based upon these findings and upon the present native-American movement, it was expected that Indian children who had been exposed to a strong native-American movement would show greater racial identification with the Indian race than Indian children not exposed to such a movement. However, data from the present investigation indicated no difference between Indian children in Group A and those in Group B. Examination of the data indicates that 55 percent of the subjects from Group A and 55 percent from Group B identified with or preferred the Indian race and that 45 percent in each group identified with the white race.

It is noteworthy that a majority of Indian children from both groups identified with the Indian race. Several explanations would appear plausible for this finding. First, less militant and less vocal Indian groups may

have as much Indian pride as the more native-American power oriented groups, and the former are able to instill that pride in their children. Secondly, since one third of the non-exposed group were urban Indian children it may be assumed that urban Indians maintain their sense of Indian identity and do not sever ties with older Indian communities from which they came. For example, it was noted that some of the second generation parents of the Guilford County sample thought of "home" as the place from which they migrated, not as Guilford County. It was also noted that urban Indians tended to live near one another in their new community and that there was much camaraderie among them. Thirdly, the literature has reported a sense of enchantment with Indians (Schermerhorn, 1967). Enchantment may be a factor in the majority of both groups identifying with Indians. Indian children may see themselves as unique, and their peculiarity a source of pride. This is in opposition to literature in which Indians are looked upon with disdain (Fey, 1971; Green, 1974). A final interpretation of the finding of no difference between the groups and majority preference for Indian is that the influence of the Indian movement may be more pervasive than was expected. The North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs has maintained offices in Guilford, Sampson, and Richmond Counties for several years. The Guilford Native-American Association was

recently organized and maintains an office and staff in Greensboro. Also the media has reported various activities of American Indians in several sections of the country. These factors may have served to raise the level of Indian consciousness and Indian pride among Indian children.

Grade Level

The literature has reported that appropriate racial identification or racial preference, as determined by sociometric measures, continues to increase as age or grade levels are raised (Ausabel & Sullivan, 1970; Koch, 1946; Morland, 1962). This association has been found with black children (Clark & Clark, 1947), and with Filipino children (Jamies et al, 1971). The findings of significant differences between grade level and racial identification in the present investigation with Indian children is supportive of the literature of racial preference. For the grade levels of kindergarten, second, and fourth grade, it was found that as the grade level is raised, identification with the Indian race increases. It is noteworthy that the association here as measured by gamma is found to be rather strong ($G = -.55$). Appropriate racial identification increases with Indian children as their age increases.

Self-Concept

The literature has reported an association between perceived racial membership and self-evaluation. Goldschmid (1970) found that skin color prevents black children from

being fully acceptable to themselves. Coles (1976) and Proshansky (1966) associated the culturally sanctioned negative self-images of black children. Fey (1971) concluded that the negative self-images of Indian children resulted from the "dumb Indian" reproach of society. The literature has also found that programs of instruction in the history and culture of Indian people have improved the self-image of Indian students (Hughes, 1972; One Feather, 1972). Based upon the literature and logic it was expected that Indian children who identified with the Indian race would have higher self-concepts than Indian children who identified with the Caucasian race. The finding of no significant differences in self-concept scores between Indian children who preferred Indian and those who preferred white did not support the expectation. It appears that racial identification or preference is not associated with the self-concept scores of Indian children. In opposition to the findings of Epstein and Komorita's (1966) findings with black children, skin color does not seem to be as important as other variables in contributing to feelings of self worth for Indian children. Feelings of racial pride apparently do not significantly contribute to self evaluations of Indian children.

Other Relevant Findings

Additional data were collected on a random sample of 15 four-year-old kindergarten children from the Long House of Learning in Pembroke, North Carolina. The Long House of Learning is a federally-funded nursery school and kindergarten which operates under the auspices of the Lumbee Regional Development Association. The curriculum of the Long House project includes native-American customs, dances, and ritual, in addition to the regular curriculum. Eighty percent of the four-year-old Long House children made responses indicating awareness of differences between Indian and Caucasian. All of the children responded correctly to the question: "Are you an Indian?" Several subjects responded by saying, "I'm a Lumbee Indian." Although data are not available on Indian children who have not been in a program such as Long House, it appears this program has been most effective in creating racial awareness and Indian pride among the children.

Racial identification was also measured among the Long House children. Sixty percent of the four-year-old children made preferences indicating identification with the Indian race. This observation is supportive of the literature in which black children exposed to a period of pro-black education were found to be more likely to make pro-black responses than children not exposed to such a program (Bunton & Weissback, 1971).

The P-HSC scale was also orally administered to the four-year-old children. The mean score for the P-HSC for the four-year-old children was 66.53. This may be compared with the kindergarten children in the sample of the study whose mean score was 62.9, the second grade children whose mean score was 57.8, and the fourth grade children whose mean score was 56.4. It appears that self-concept scores drop as the age levels of Indian children are raised.

Previous research on racial identification has included a control group of white subjects to determine if misidentification is also a factor among Caucasian children (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Morland, 1966; Palmer, 1973). A sample of Caucasian children was therefore taken to determine if misidentification is a factor among Caucasian children when the distinguishing racial features of difference are less pronounced as is the case between Caucasian and Indian. Robeson County, the county from which Group A for the study was taken, has a tri-racial population composed of 43 percent white, 31 percent Indian, and 25 percent black (Census of Population, PC (1)-835, 1970). Red Springs is a town with a population of 3,383 located in the northern section of Robeson County (Census of Population, PC (1)-A35, 1970). A sample of Caucasian subjects (N=45) was taken from the Red Springs elementary school. The superintendent of Red Springs Schools served as the contact person within the school system. The purposes of the

research and the approximate time required for testing each subject was explained to the superintendent. After approval for the research was obtained from the superintendent, contact was made with the principal of the elementary school. A roster of students in kindergarten, the second, and the fourth grade was requested from the principal. From the roster the names of all Caucasian students were listed in alphabetical order by grade level and using a table of random numbers, subjects ($N=15$) were selected from the respective grade levels for a total yield of 45.

The procedure for interviewing the Caucasian subjects corresponded to the procedure of interviewing the Indian subjects, except that the interviewer for the total sample was Caucasian. The same instruments used in the study to measure racial awareness, racial identification, and self-concept, were used in testing the Caucasian subjects.

It was noteworthy that 100 percent of the Caucasian subjects made responses indicating they were racially aware of the differences between Caucasians and Indians. Ninety-one percent of the Indian children gave responses indicating racial awareness. This observation corresponds to the findings of Morland (1958) that white children are aware of race earlier than black children and is in opposition to Goodman (1952) and Arter (1959) who report that minority children (black) are aware of race earlier than majority children.

It was observed from the test to measure racial identification that the Caucasian subjects identified with their own race in a majority of cases. Thirty percent of the preferences were for Indian and 70 percent of the preferences were for white. This is supportive of findings that majority children tend to identify with their own race.

Table 3 compares the grade levels of the Caucasian children with their racial preferences. It appears that as the grade level for Caucasian subjects is raised, their identification with Indian increases. This is in opposition to the literature which indicates that majority of minority children in older age groups show more identification with their respective race. One explanation may be the volunteer statements of two fourth graders who said they thought the subjects in the Indian pictures had good (sun) tans.

Table 3

Racial Identification of Caucasian Children by Grade Level

Grade Level	Kindergarten	Second	Fourth
Preference			
Indian	3	5	8
Caucasian	12	10	7

The P-HSC was also given to the Caucasian subjects. The mean P-HSC score for the Caucasian subjects was 65.66 as

compared with the mean score of 58.24 for the Indian subjects. A two-tailed t test to determine the differences of means between the Caucasian and Indian mean scores yielded a t value of 2.0. The P-HSC scores of Indian and Caucasian children were found to be significantly different at the .05 level. While literature has indicated that skin color contributes to negative self-concepts of black children and has little effect on white children (Goldschmid, 1970), it appears that skin color contributes to a slight depression in the self-concepts of Indian children. This depression in the self-concept scores is supportive of findings that Indian children suffer from a sense of diminished self-esteem (Bechmann, 1968; Frederick, 1974).

Summary of the Research Questions, Hypotheses, and Findings

This investigation was concerned with four areas of inquiry related to Indian children: racial awareness and exposure to the American Indian movement, racial identification and exposure to the American Indian movement, grade level and racial identification, and racial identification and self-concept. The research questions, hypotheses, and results of the analysis of the data follow.

Question 1.

Is there a relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness among Indian children?

Hypothesis I. There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and racial awareness.

Findings. Hypothesis I was not supported by the data. Racial awareness was equal between Indian children exposed to the Indian movement and those not exposed. It is noteworthy that 91 percent of all the subjects tested were racially aware of differences between Caucasian and Indian and of their self-identity as Indians.

Question 2.

Is there a relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children prefer their own race?

Hypothesis II. There is a significant relationship between exposure to a strong native-American movement and the frequency with which Indian children identify with their own race.

Findings. Hypothesis II was not supported by the data. There was no difference in the racial identification of Indian children not exposed to a strong native-American movement and those exposed. More than one-half (55%) in each group preferred Indian to Caucasian.

Question 3.

Does frequency of identification with racial group vary among age groups of Indian children?

Hypothesis III. There is no difference between kindergarten, second, and fourth grade groups of Indians and the frequency with which they identify with their racial group.

Finding. A significant difference was found between grade level and the frequency with which Indian children identify with their own race. As the grade level of Indian children was raised, the level of preference for their own race was also increased.

Question 4.

Is there a relationship between self-concept and appropriate racial preference among Indian children?

Hypothesis IV. Indian children who identify with their own racial group will show more positive self-concepts than corresponding Indians who identify with Caucasians.

Finding. Hypothesis IV was not supported by the data. Indian children who identified with their own racial group had no higher self-concepts than Indian children who identified with Caucasians.

Summary of Other Relevant Findings

Four-year-old American Indian children who had been exposed to a program of enrichment in American Indian culture appeared very aware of race and of their self-identity as Indians and 60 percent of their responses were preferences for Indian. A drop was noted in self-concept scores among older age groups of Indian children when compared with this younger group.

A sample of Caucasian children who lived near a large Indian population indicated that the Caucasian children in the same age groups of those of the study (1) appeared more aware of race than corresponding groups of Indians, (2) identified with the white race in 70 percent of their preferences, and (3) had significantly higher self-concept scores than their Indian counterparts.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the analysis of data.

1. Indian children, as other minority children, become aware of race at an early age regardless of their exposure to a strong native-American movement.
2. Indian children from areas in which there is a strong native-American movement show no greater racial identification with their respective racial group than Indian children not exposed to such a movement. The majority of Indian children show preference for their own race.
3. Racial identification with their own race increases among older age groups of Indian children.
4. Racial identification with the Indian race is not associated with self-concept among Indian children.

Recommendations for Further Research

Based upon the findings and observations of the present research and subsequent questions raised by the findings, the following recommendations are made:

1. Further research should be conducted to determine if Indian children become aware of race as early as black children. Other research has noted racial awareness of black children as early as 3 years of age. Although ethnic differences have been found to come at around 6 or 7 years of age (Ausubel & Sullivan, 1970), 91 percent of the subjects in this research were racially aware of the differences between Indians and Caucasians.
2. Further research should be carried out using the variables of age and self-concept to determine if the self-concepts of Indian youth continue to drop through the adolescent period. A drop in the self-concept was noted among older Indian children in the present study. The literature has found the struggle for self-esteem to be a major struggle among Indian adolescents.
3. Further research should be conducted on the variables of sexual and racial identification. Identification with the same sex appeared important to the subjects in the sample. It was observed that

in an overwhelming majority of cases the subjects selected the drawings of either Caucasian or Indian children within their own sex. This raises the question as to which may be stronger, sex or race.

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APPENDIX A

Pilot Study Performance Schedule

Name _____

Age _____

Grade Level _____

School _____

- | | 1 | 2 |
|--|-------|-------|
| 1. Which picture looks like an Indian child? | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Which picture looks like a white child? | _____ | _____ |

1 = Drawing of Indian Child

2 = Drawing of White Child

- | | 1A | 1B | 2A | 2B |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 3. Which picture do you like best? | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. Which picture is a picture of a person you would like as a friend? | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Which picture looks bad? | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Which picture is a picture of the smartest child? | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 7. Which picture is a nice color? | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

1A = Drawing of Indian Boy

1B = Drawing of Indian Girl

2A = Drawing of White Boy

2B = Drawing of White Girl

APPENDIX B

Performance Schedule for Racial Identification
and Racial Awareness

Name _____ School _____
 Age _____ County _____
 Grade Level _____ Parent _____
 Sex _____ Address _____

	1A	1B	2A	2B
1. Which picture do you like best?	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Which picture is a picture of a person you would like as a friend?	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Which picture looks bad?	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Which picture is a nice color?	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Which picture is a picture of the smartest child?	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Which picture looks like an Indian child?	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Which picture looks like a white child?	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Which picture looks like you?	_____	_____	_____	_____

1A = Drawing of Indian Boy
 1B = Drawing of Indian Girl
 2A = Drawing of White Boy
 2B = Drawing of White Girl

9. Are you an Indian? Yes _____ No _____

PLEASE NOTE:

Pages 102 to 109 "Adapted BPIS Scale II" and pages 110 to 116 "The Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale" not microfilmed at the request of the author. Available for consultation at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro Library.

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